

RED SALUTE TO LAOS

The seizure of power of Laos by the Pathet Lao forces has at last brought to culmination the epoch-long anti-imperialist freedom struggle of the people of Indo-China.

A power seizure meeting held at Vientiane on August 23rd declared that the old regime of Vientiane city and Province had been overthrown and replaced by the new, people's revolutionary administration.

Together with the democratic minded freedom loving people of the world we on behalf of the toiling millions of our country extend our revolutionary greetings and red salute to the Pathet Lao forces and the peoples' revolutionary administration.

North and South Vietnam Must Get Their Rightful Place In the UNO

The USA blocked the admission of North and South Vietnam to the UNO by vetoing a nine nation resolution, which recommended to the General Assembly to enrol them as its members. While putting its veto USA proposed a "package deal" by which the two Vietnam States and South Korea would be admitted simultaneously or none of them would be enrolled.

But this linking of the Vietnamese applications to that of South Korea is illogical, absurd and unjustifiable because these two questions are separate and to be dealt separately. US veto is a flagrant violation of the principles governing the admission of States to the UNO. This act of the USA had been condemned by most of the countries subsequently. There cannot be two opinions as to why USA actually did this under such a flimsy pretext. The US imperialists have not forgotten the ignominious defeat they suffered, despite deployment of one million soldiers and millions of megatons of lethal weapons, by the courageous and determined people of Vietnam, the defeat that has shattered the myth of their military might—so they wanted to take revenge and wanted to recover their lost prestige.

But it is certain that US imperialists cannot bar the admission of the North and South Vietnam in the UNO for long as they could not ultimately resist the admission of Peoples' Republic of China:

We appeal to all the democratic minded and

freedom-loving people of the world to raise their voice in protest and put pressure upon the US imperialists to stop all their intrigues.

AT THE

"Mr. Ashoke Sen, former Law Minister to appear for the Prime Minister, presented the Gazette Notifications of the two Acts just enacted, and submitted that by virtue of the Constitution Amendment Act, the Allahabad High Court Order, setting aside Mrs. Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha from Rai Beraeli in 1971 had become void.

"At the start of the 45 minutes proceedings Mrs. Gandhi's Counsel submitted that the Allahabad Court had struck down the election on two technical grounds. Mr. Sen said the judgement became a controversy in which the Judiciary got involved...."

".....Under the circumstances, Parliament thought it proper to take the responsibility on its own and resolve the issues raised by the judgement," (Statesman 12.8.75.)

"The Bill...seeks to render, pending proceed-

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 9
No. 2

1st SEPTEMBER '75
MONDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

Stand by the Flood-Affected People

The Central Committee of the SUCI expresses its serious concern at and deep sympathy for the vast flood-affected people of Bihar including Patna and rural districts of Orissa.

The people of North Bihar in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, Dwarbhanga, Matihari have tremendously suffered first and then has come the unprecedented deluge in Patna, the Capital of this State, which is still under several feet deep water for a few days from 25th August. This time the rivers Koshi, Buri Gandak, Sone and Ganga have

surpassed all past memorable records of devastation and horror. The exact number of loss of lives and position of crops is yet to be ascertained.

The vast areas of the flood-affected people of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Denkanol are facing the similar fate.

The lives of thousands of marooned people are

still in danger, require immediate rescue, corpse are to be identified and removed—house, shelter, food, medicine, baby-food, clothings are to be provided to these vast people, in adequate quantity, the means and resources of which can only be provided by the Govt.

In the rural areas crops have been damaged and even seeds have been destroyed, which may cause tremendous food problem, which is to be tackled from now on. And above all these, there is the threat of draught hanging on in other areas of South Bihar. Attention should also be given to it immediately.

The Central Committee of the SUCI in these critical days declares itself to stand firmly with the suffering people and has already directed all its members, friends and supporters in the affected areas, despite their own untold sufferings, to help in whatever way the fellow suffering common people. The Central Committee also urges upon the people of non-affected areas, both within these two States and outside to render whatever help possible to the flood affected people.

The Central Committee observes with great pain and said that, ...such unprecedented floods are still happening in different parts of our country, when in these days of scientific development flood control is humanly possible, when tasks undertaken by the authority with proper scientific plan, love and devotion for the people, eradicating corruption and maladministration.

SUPREME COURT

ings in respect of election of the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker under the existing Law "null and void....." (Statesman-August 9, '75).

"Under the amended Bill, the President or the Prime Minister or Governor of a State has been extended immunity from criminal proceedings, including process for arrest or imprisonment, either during the term of his office or after he demits office in respect of any act done by him whether before or during the term of office. This immunity is now available to the President or a Governor only during the term of his office.

In the case of Civil proceedings, the President, the Prime Minister or the Governor of a State has been given immunity from such proceedings during the term of office.

"As regard, Civil proceedings in respect of

personal acts of the President or Governor, the constitution now provides for a limited protection in the shape of a requirement of notice for a period of two months prior to the institution of such proceedings.

Sm. Gandhi says :

Faults of Democracy Have to be Removed

(At the Conference of Chairmen and Worker Representatives of Port and Dock.)

".....there were faults in our democracy and those faults have to be removed....."

(The Statesman 7. 8. 75)

(At an interview with West German News Paper—Bild Am Sonntag.)

"....She said, she would like to clear the misconception that the Emergency had any direct relationship with the Allahabad High Court Judgement. The opposition did try to exploit the Nation's shock at the Lower court's Verdict..."

(Economic Times 11.8.75)

HELSINKI "FINAL ACT"—AN AS CHAMPIONS OF WORLD

At present, the reactionaries, the much condemned capitalists-imperialists forces are actually engaged as they were in the past, in their old game of indulging in subversive activities and organising counter-revolution, in different parts of the world. But such heinous activities on their part have created no hurdle and posed no problem to jointly seat with them in a summit conference in Helsinki on security and co-operation in Europe and to pledge to uphold the very policy of 'peaceful co-existence' and non-interference into the internal affairs of others. Moreover, the summit was held at a time, when the U. S. imperialists following their complete defeat at the hands of the freedom fighters of the Vietnam was seriously striving to gain prestige and position in the world politics and that too, if necessary by posing themselves as champions of world peace, friendship and brotherhood.

The participants, the heads of the thirty-five states of Europe except Albania and including USA and Canada, signed "The final Act"—a 30,000 word document listing in detail the code of conduct to guide the relation between them, the capitalist-imperialist states on the one hand, and the socialist states on the other. The document spelled out following ten principles to govern the relation between these states.

These were: (1) Sovereign equality for the rights inherent in sovereignty; (2) Refraining from the threat or use of force; (3) Inviolability of frontiers; (4) Territorial integrity of states; (5) Peaceful settlement of the disputes; (7) Respect for human rights and fundamental freedom including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; (8) Equal rights and self-determination of people; (9) Co-operation amongst states and (10) Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law.

Along with many other high sounding promises, the summit also called upon the participants, to voluntarily notify others of military manoeuvres, involving more than 25,000 ground, air and naval forces, excluding air and naval manoeuvres. Moreover, as per the declaration, the notification was to be made 21 days in advance and should indicate the name and general aim of the manoeuvre, states invol-

ved, the categories and importance of the forces engaged etc. etc. Though it was reported that the conference was held in a spirit of brotherhood prevailing amongst the leaders of the capitalists-imperialist states on the one hand and the socialist states on the other, yet one would be very much mistaken if he assumed that the same identical attitude was expressed by one and all.

Amongst the participants, both Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Ford were reported to have expressed in identical tone, their deep satisfaction and pledged to work towards the furthering of detente so that people throughout the world could turn their efforts to the constructive tasks of improving their living standards and human relations. None should however think that the unanimity between Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Ford was restricted only in their unequivocal endorsement of the declaration. It was reported that both Mr. Ford and Mr. Brezhnev considered the summit a cause to serve their objectives and aspirations and appeared to be determined to make it a success.

But even within this overall spirit of brotherhood, one should not miss to note, of course, if he takes pain to go between the lines of the report that the mood expressed by heads of some of the states who consider themselves to be "non-aligned" and "developing", was something different from those who expressed a general

feeling of deep satisfaction.

The voice reflected even by President Tito who happens to be in the good book of the leadership of the dominant section of the socialist world would bear testimony to this fact. Mr. Tito, while addressing the summit had to observe that there were signs of pressure being exerted on "non-aligned" countries "because their independent policies are being intensified". He further reminded the delegates that his country belonged to the "non-aligned groups" and said, "we demand unconditional respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our own country". Even so many high sounding promises and pledges made on the pursuance of the policy of peaceful co-existence, and non-interference and strict maintenance of territorial integrity, perhaps not for nothing, failed to remove all traces of air of distrust and suspicion from his mind. Who can say that it is not the agreement and understanding that the super-powers off and on enter into for increasing their respective sphere of influence that has made him apprehensive of possible disrespect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty? Incidentally, the two reports published in the daily press might appear to some people as to be relevant. The Statesman on 2nd August reported, "....Mr. Brezhnev did stress that the correct and just principles of relations amongst states should be 'firmly rooted in present day international relations'. The reference to existing international relations could, some observers here believe, be interpreted as a direct demand for Western recognition of the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Indeed critics of Helsinki summit have argued that the declarations being endorsed by heads of Governments here would accord tacit Western recognition to the

Brezhnev doctrine and to Soviet territorial gains during World war II." And on a previous day, i. e. on the 31st July, the same daily under the heading "Wilson challenges Brezhnev doctrine", reported that, "The British Premier Mr. Harold Wilson to-day warned that none of the 35 nations gathered here to sign a security pledge for Europe will have any excuse in future to intervene into the internal affairs of others, reports UPI. "No excuse," Mr. Wilson told the security summit conference "can henceforth be found for any participating state attempting to prevent any other from exercising its sovereign right to intervene in its internal affairs". This appears to be direct challenge to Moscow's "Brezhnev doctrine" propounded 7 years ago by the Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mr. Leonid Brezhnev claiming the right for the Soviet Union to intervene in any East European country."

It has been reported that amongst all the European states Albania was the solitary notable exception who didn't participate in the summit. So far nothing has come to our knowledge, as nothing has yet been reported in the daily press regarding Albania's non-participation in the summit conference.

Among the non-participants the attitude stated to have been expressed by the People's Republic of China was reported in the daily press. The Indian Express dated 6th August under the heading "Helsinki 'final Act' cannot avert war", published the following report, "Peking August 5, (AFP) New China News Agency has charged that the "final act" of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) could not prevent a third world war. The final act, the official Chinese agency said

yesterday, was "a more repetition of the principles of the United Nation's charter." It went on: "the documents and resolution of the (post-first world war) League of Nations also stipulated similar principles but they failed to prevent the outbreak of the second world war." In a long article headlined "Analysis of the final act of the CSCE", the agency set out the principles of the final document and commented on some of them. The 'inviolability of frontiers' clause, the agency said, "provides the super powers with a rationale for further contention, for by twisting the text with self-serving interpretations each can find justifications for penetrating into the other's spheres of influence."

On the clause providing for 21 days notice of military manoeuvres less than 250 kms from common frontiers, the Chinese agency commented: "No body will believe that prior notifications of military manoeuvres can prevent aggressive war. That prior notification at Soviet insistence will be voluntary, that is to say, not obligatory."

"This addition destroys at one stroke the illusions of security allegedly produced by the document".

The clause allowing for free circulation of people and ideas serve the interests of the United States and some other Western countries, it said. "The United States" it said, "seeks to penetrate by peaceful means into Soviet spheres of influence and cut the ground from under the Soviet Union by spreading its own ideas and influence".

Such terms as "under mutually acceptable conditions" and "according to the modalities particular to each country" can be used to offset or nullify stipulations to which they are attached, the agency said.

The commentary concluded: "It can be seen from the above analysis that the

ATTEMPT TO POSE THE CAPITALIST-IMPERIALISTS PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

final act is in fact an empty document with its provisions open to different interpretations by different countries in accordance with their own needs. It conforms only to the needs of the Soviet Union and the United States in their contention for hegemony in Europe and the world." (Indian Express—6th August '75.)

While attempts to organise counter-revolutions and increase spheres of influence continue the states under the joint leadership of Brezhnev and Ford upheld "peaceful co-existence and non-interference"

Be that as it may, it has already been reported that all the participating states under the joint leadership of Brezhnev and Ford expressed their firm faith on the policy of peaceful co-existence and non-interference into the internal affairs of others. This no doubt sounds very much enthusiastic! But in the present situation when a large and dominating section of the leadership of the socialist world, being victim of worst type of revisionism, has degraded the policy of peaceful co-existence into a policy of peaceful capitulation to the imperialists and when it is a fact that the capitalist-imperialists can never sincerely uphold the policy that endangers the very root of its existence and due to some exigency or pragmatic consideration can at best pretend to uphold the said policy, the pertinent question is, whether the policy of peaceful co-existence with its real significance has been upheld by the participants in the summit in a spirit of real honesty and sincerity.

To a revolutionary, even though the immediate aim of peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for prevention of war, peace is not the end in itself, a self-sufficient entity. All know that

the policy of peaceful co-existence, as understood by the revolutionaries, is a complex revolutionary means to create condition to make it possible for the people in all countries to determine their own destiny without being interfered and intervened by any foreign country, under whatsoever pretext and help accelerating the course of revolutionary struggle in metropolitan countries and national liberation struggle in colonies and semi-colonies. The objects of pursuance of policy of peaceful co-existence are for preservation of world peace and putting up an effective check so that the imperialists cannot interfere into the internal affairs of any country under any pretext. So the policy of peaceful co-existence is neither a political manoeuvre nor a means for concluding peace treaties or non-aggression pact, which the capitalist-imperialist states often make. It is neither a subtle device to kill time for war preparation as many pseudo-Marxists think. On the contrary, if correctly understood in its proper perspective, it is one of the complex revolutionary means to accelerate the course of socialist revolution in metropolitan capitalist countries and national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies, which are part and parcel of world socialist revolution.

Now the capitalist-imperialist states which along with their economy can only exist not only by exploiting the people of their own, but also the working people of other countries, with a view to realising this objective cannot but interfere into the internal affairs of other countries and to realise their desired end, along with other means also try to establish their puppets or so-called allies in these countries.

Moreover, off and on they do feel the urgency to release a huge stock pile produced following the

increasing militarisation of their economy—a measure that they adopt for artificially stimulating their economy, with a view to freeing it from its crisis-ridden state. But it necessitates active indulgence in localised wars between different nations at different parts of the world. And this too, they can never realise without interfering into the internal affairs of other countries. It is, therefore, anybody's guess that even if, being cornered by the voice of the world people raised against them, or world peace being thrust upon them by the world peace movement, or due to some political exigency or pragmatic consideration, the capitalist-imperialists speak in favour of maintaining peace, pursuance of the policy of peaceful co-existence and non-interference, in reality, they can never adhere to, nor can uphold the policy that aims at creating condition in favour of developing revolutionary struggle in metropolitan countries and national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies with the ultimate object of making an end to the capitalist-imperialist exploitative rule.

Now, thanks to that revisionist section of the leadership of the socialist world, who to a large extent have succeeded in degrading the revolutionary policy of peaceful co-existence into the worst type of revisionist policy of peaceful capitulation to the imperialists. Because, when, in the name of upholding the policy of peaceful co-existence, that carry a different meaning to them, these revisionist leadership adhere to the policy of capitulating with the imperialists, the imperialists too, for obvious reasons, find no harm to pretend to be adhering to it! Moreover, this helps them to pose themselves as champions of world peace, to try to deceive the people by creating confusion among them regarding their motive and activities

and thereby unarm the people in their fight against them, i.e., the imperialists.

That these revisionist section of the leadership of the socialist world have succeeded to convey a different meaning of the policy of peaceful co-existence to the capitalist-imperialists—a meaning that being acceptable to them has led to the "sanctification" of the said policy by them, so to say, has also become evident from observations reported to have been made by some European statesmen during the summit. The daily press (Statesman, 1-8-75), reports; "Indeed a marked feature of the speeches by the Heads of Government during the first two days of the three day summit here has been a special sanctification of "peaceful co-existence" for long a dirty phrase in many European and other Western capitals. The British Premier, Mr Harold Wilson, the first speaker after yesterday's inaugural session, set the tone of subsequent speeches when he told the summit: "I have sometimes found European statesmen chary of using the phrase "peaceful co-existence" because it has been differently defined at different times by different leaders of nations." Mr. Wilson quoted the wise words of Mr. Clement Attlee, "the only alternative to co-existence is co-death" in support of his own unreserved endorsement of this "new code of political and human relations" in Europe." (Statesman 1.8.75). We too feel, that not only Mr. Wilson, none of the leaders of the capitalist-imperialist world will find any problem to lend their "unreserved endorsement" to this policy that now carrying a new meaning attached to it by the revisionist leadership of the socialist world has taken the shape of a "new code of political and human relations".

During the summit there was repeated reference to a climate of 'detente'. The participants felt the need for

reduction in armed forces and for nuclear disarmament and effective safeguards against nuclear proliferation. But if anyone hopes that this alone will act as effective safeguard against global war he is liable to commit a grave mistake.

Because the phenomenon of war, like any other phenomenon is also law governed; so like any other law governed phenomenon it does not depend on the whims or likings or dislikings of any individual or individuals or of any particular State or States. The root cause of modern wars, the outcome of the present day capitalist-imperialist system, lies in the antagonistic contradiction between the imperialist-capitalist countries for the capture of market. It is for this reason that so long capitalism-imperialism exists as a world system, the law of inevitability of war as propounded by Lenin remains valid. But one should not treat this law like any other law as something fatalistic. So long the law operates, the possible danger of war exists; but the united effort of the working people all over the world who are fighting against the forces of reaction for their liberation, coupled with world peace movement can thrust peace over the imperialists and frustrate their bid to conspire war between the working people of different countries, between different nations or launch aggressive wars for capturing markets. The ultimate guarantee of world peace therefore lies not in the pledge of the capitalist-imperialists to adhere to the policy of peaceful co-existence nor in the proposal of reducing the armed forces and armaments leading to "further development of military detente", far less in appeasing the imperialists by giving unnecessary concessions to avert war, but mainly in the intensification and success of national liberation move-

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aristocracy which had long exercised a dominating influence in all the affairs of the state under Empire, the Social Democratic and allied parties allowed them to remain intact.....the same attitude was taken towards capitalist leaders in industry, trade and finance.

".....In between the two bitterly opposed groups lay the great mass of the middle class population. In the centre were to be found practically all the 'white collar' salaried and professional classes, small shop-keepers, tradesmen and handicraftsmen, the bulk of the peasantry, the Government bureaucracies, the bulk of the rank and file of the more conservative trade unions, the Catholic Church and the Protestant confessions....."

"..... the real significance of the Nazi Party (abbreviation of National Socialist German Workers' Party—writer) lay in the fact that it had a certain followings amongst the amorphous and hesitant central mass and that it reflected in its confused platform the very state of mind in which the bulk of the citizens found themselves. Ideal for the purpose to which it was to be put, there was a plank in the Nazi platform to meet the prejudices of nearly every group to be appealed to and it conducted its campaigns so as to combine a proper degree of idea—dulling fanaticism with further confusion of the issues."

(Robert A. Brady—'The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism'. pp. 26-31.

The National Socialist German Workers Party was built up on April 1st, 1920 on the basis of the 25-points programme and was specially developed under Hitler and later under Goebels and Strasser, "to direct its appeal not only to peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie, but to the working masses in the

industrial districts. Whereas Italian Fascism early dropped any pretence of connection with "socialism", German Fascism could only reach a mass basis by professing to stand for "socialism". National Socialist propaganda distinguished itself by its wild and frenzied character of combined anti-semitism, anti-capitalism and chauvinist denunciation of Versailles and of the subjection of Germany".

(R.P. Dutt—same book).

".....The twenty five programme, adopted in 1920 and proclaimed by the 1926 Congress to be 'unalterable', set out the following aims among its miscellaneous medley of items :-

Abolition of un-earned income.

Breaking of Interest-slavery.

Confiscation of all war profits.

Nationalisation of all trusts.

Profit sharing in large concerns.

Confiscation without compensation of land for communal purpose.

Death penalty for usurers and profiteers.

Regarding the high sounding programme, Mowrer makes a very apt comment and cites a concrete instance of the perfidy underlying in the very programme. Mowrer says about Hitler, who was the master artist of demagoguery in the following lines:-

"He was everything to everybody. To the rich he and his followers promised low wages and high profits; to the poor, socialism and the national commonwealth. To the junkers, protection of the big estates, and higher duties on grains; to the poor peasants lower priced fertilisers and higher duties on imported vegetables and meat. To the hired farm hands land and decent housing. To the unemployed he offered jobs. To un-married women, husbands. To the political 'touts' participation in power. Speaking to the

expropriated middle class, he attacked the socialist workmen. To the workmen, the greedy capitalists; to all he promised a greater fatherland, no more reparations, national expansion with more territory and a helpless, ever present scape-goat for all their errors and mistakes and sufferings in the form of the jews".

(Germany Puts The Clock Back pp. 267-8).

Mowrer cites a letter from a Nazi Party leader to a Weimar industrialist who was becoming alarmed by the anti capitalist complexion of Nazi propaganda. "Do not let yourself be continually confused" were the reassuring words "by the text of our posters...of course there are catch words like 'Down with capitalism', 'Jews', etc. but these are necessary (unquestionably), for under the flag of 'German national' or 'National' alone, you must know, we should never reach our goal, we should have no future. We must talk the language of the embittered socialist workmen...or else they would not feel at home with us. We don't come out with a direct programme.....for reasons of diplomacy"—(ibid)

Now about the flag, Shirer writes:—"In the summer of 1920, Hitler, the frustrated artist but now becoming master propagandist came up with an inspiration.....what the party lacked, he saw, was an emblem, a flag, a symbol which would express what the new organisation stood for, an appeal to the imagination of the masses who, as Hitler reasoned must have some striking banner to follow and to fight under. After much thought and innumerable attempts at various designs he hit upon a flag with a red background and in the middle a white disc on which was imprinted a black Swastika. The hooked cross..... borrowed though it was from more ancient times, was to become a mighty and frightening symbol of

the Nazi Party and ultimately of Nazi Germany.

"Hitler revelled in his unique creation. 'a symbol it really is' he exclaims in 'Mein Kampf', 'In red we see the social idea of the movement, in white the nationalist idea, in the Swastika the mission of the struggle for the victory of the Arian man.'"

(Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. pp. 63-64.)

And how the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers backed the Nazi party has been described here: According to the conclusions of an investigating committee.....of the Bavarian Diet, Hitler's financial backer in his early days included a reactionary industrialist, Von Borsig of Berlin, two leading figures in the association of Bavarian Industrialists.....and a high born aristocrat, Prince Arenberg.....In later years, the list of the alleged financial patrons of the National Socialist movement became extremely long. Factory owners, managers, general councils (syndici) were as thick as they might be on the subscription list of the Republican National Committee in the United States."

(Mowrer—same book).

Another writer Ernst Henri, declares that since 1927 the chief backer of Hitler has been the Ruhr steel magnate, Thyssen. "Thyssen systematically financed all election funds of the National Socialist Party. He it was who already in 1929 invited Hitler, to Dusseldorf, the headquarters of the Steel Trust and there introduced him for the first time to an assembly of three hundred leading industrialists of the Ruhr. He it was who, three years later, at the beginning of 1932 brought Hitler a second time to Dusseldorf, this time in order to develop his programme for the future before 2,000 German industrialists.

.....Thyssen persuaded the two political centres

of German Ruhr Capitalto agree that every coal and steel concern had by way of a particular obligatory tax, to deliver a certain sum into the election funds of the National Socialists. In order to raise this money, the price of coal was raised in Germany. For the presidential elections of 1932 alone, Thyssen provided the Nazis with more than 30,00,000 marks within a few days. Without this help the fantastic measures resorted to by the Hitler agitation in the years 1930-32 would never have been possible".

—("Hitler over Europe" —pp. 11-12. quoted in Osborn's book).

We are coming to the question as to why the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers backed this Nazi Party. But in order to understand it properly one must understand the basic historic lesson, enunciated by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh: "During the period of world-wide capitalist revolution when capitalism was developing through free competition, bourgeois parliamentary political institutions emerged as a political superstructure on the basis of competitive capitalism. The bourgeoisie was then more attached to liberty and individual freedom. But in the period of intensification of general crisis of capitalism, finance capital and imperialism the bourgeoisie is becoming more and more less attached to individual freedom and liberty and increasingly becoming more attached to militarism and bureaucracy.....Even to the bourgeoisie, Parliament is fast losing its utility. Fascism is manifesting itself in diverse forms more markedly in state structure and administrative set up of all capitalist countries developed or backward".

(Excerpts from his article in 1949 and 'War, Peace, Peaceful co-existence and Peaceful Transition to Socialism')

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(Germany Puts The Clock Back pp. 267-8).

Mowrer cites a letter from a Nazi Party leader to a Weimar industrialist who was becoming alarmed by the anti capitalist complexion of Nazi propaganda. "Do not let yourself be continually confused" were the reassuring words "by the text of our posters...of course there are catch words like 'Down with capitalism', 'Jews', etc. but these are necessary (unquestionably), for under the flag of 'German national' or 'National' alone, you must know, we should never reach our goal, we should have no future. We must talk the language of the embittered socialist workmen...or else they would not feel at home with us. We don't come out with a direct programme.....for reasons of diplomacy"—(ibid)

Now about the flag, Shirer writes:—"In the summer of 1920, Hitler, the frustrated artist but now becoming master propagandist came up with an inspiration.....what the party lacked, he saw, was an emblem, a flag, a symbol which would express what the new organisation stood for, an appeal to the imagination of the masses who, as Hitler reasoned must have some striking banner to follow and to fight under. After much thought and innumerable attempts at various designs he hit upon a flag with a red background and in the middle a white disc on which was imprinted a black Swastika. The hooked cross..... borrowed though it was from more ancient times, was to become a mighty and frightening symbol of

the Nazi Party and ultimately of Nazi Germany.

"Hitler revelled in his unique creation. 'a symbol it really is' he exclaims in 'Mein Kampf', 'In red we see the social idea of the movement, in white the nationalist idea, in the Swastika the mission of the struggle for the victory of the Arian man.'"

(Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. pp. 63-64.)

And how the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers backed the Nazi party has been described here: According to the conclusions of an investigating committee.....of the Bavarian Diet, Hitler's financial backer in his early days included a reactionary industrialist, Von Borsig of Berlin, two leading figures in the association of Bavarian Industrialists.....and a high born aristocrat, Prince Arenberg.....In later years, the list of the alleged financial patrons of the National Socialist movement became extremely long. Factory owners, managers, general councils (syndici) were as thick as they might be on the subscription list of the Republican National Committee in the United States."

(Mowrer—same book).

Another writer Ernst Henri, declares that since 1927 the chief backer of Hitler has been the Ruhr steel magnate, Thyssen. "Thyssen systematically financed all election funds of the National Socialist Party. He it was who already in 1929 invited Hitler, to Dusseldorf, the headquarters of the Steel Trust and there introduced him for the first time to an assembly of three hundred leading industrialists of the Ruhr. He it was who, three years later, at the beginning of 1932 brought Hitler a second time to Dusseldorf, this time in order to develop his programme for the future before 2,000 German industrialists.

.....Thyssen persuaded the two political centres

of German Ruhr Capitalto agree that every coal and steel concern had by way of a particular obligatory tax, to deliver a certain sum into the election funds of the National Socialists. In order to raise this money, the price of coal was raised in Germany. For the presidential elections of 1932 alone, Thyssen provided the Nazis with more than 30,00,000 marks within a few days. Without this help the fantastic measures resorted to by the Hitler agitation in the years 1930-32 would never have been possible".

—("Hitler over Europe" —pp. 11-12. quoted in Osborn's book).

We are coming to the question as to why the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers backed this Nazi Party. But in order to understand it properly one must understand the basic historic lesson, enunciated by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh: "During the period of world-wide capitalist revolution when capitalism was developing through free competition, bourgeois parliamentary political institutions emerged as a political superstructure on the basis of competitive capitalism. The bourgeoisie was then more attached to liberty and individual freedom. But in the period of intensification of general crisis of capitalism, finance capital and imperialism the bourgeoisie is becoming more and more less attached to individual freedom and liberty and increasingly becoming more attached to militarism and bureaucracy.....Even to the bourgeoisie, Parliament is fast losing its utility. Fascism is manifesting itself in diverse forms more markedly in state structure and administrative set up of all capitalist countries developed or backward".

(Excerpts from his article in 1949 and 'War, Peace, Peaceful co-existence and Peaceful Transition to Socialism')

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Rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany

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One of the leading spokesmen of German Fascist movement Goering made no mistake in plainly stating the object of this movement when he said: "The National Socialist is the deadly enemy of the democratic principle. In the National state there is no voting, no majority. The enforcement of this principle means that Parliament as a Parliament is done with".

(Speech on July 8, '33. Quoted in Osborn's book).

But bourgeoisie moves with caution because the complete repudiation of democratic principles and liberties is a hazardous step. "It carries the danger that deprived of democratic channels the masses will turn to revolutionary channels of activity. This must be prevented at all costs. The allegiance of the masses must be won for a political party which, while opposing democracy, holds the masses back from revolutionary action. Such a party would enable the capitalist class to rule without the hindrance of democracy and yet assure the support of a wide mass of people.

In every capitalist country, parties which seem to perform this service for the capitalist class have come into existence. They are Fascist parties....

"The German ruling class had depended upon Social Democracy to retain the passive obedience of the masses to the State. But with the discredit into which democracy fell, the German ruling class sought for some other means of assuring the passivity of the masses. It sought, in other words, to strengthen the psychological basis without which no state can function for long. It discovered the means to this in the Nazi Party. For the latter had a sufficiently large following among the masses to give the capitalist state the necessary psychological basis while allowing it to turn to the task of crushing the margin of revolt, expressed in the parties of the left,

in comparative safety..... Hitler's party therefore "presented itself to the capitalist class as the most suitable to retain the prestige of the capitalist state at the time when this prestige was fast disappearing."

Note :- We must warn our readers about the use of the term 'Social Democracy' that has rather loosely been used in the lines we have quoted. By the term 'social democracy' the writer meant the particular activities, spinelessness and treachery of the Social Democratic Party and forces who were affiliated to Second and Two-and-A Half International which was defined by Lenin as "agents of international imperialism operating inside the working class movement where they are the vehicles of bourgeois influence and bourgeois ideas." Readers should therefore remember that it is not social democracy or social democratic approach as such that is being meant here. Fascism as they can well see in the concrete evidences, resorts to social-democracy and social-democratic approaches with a flair of militancy which was particularly evident in the Nazi Party in Germany and that is why it was successful not only to confuse the broad sections of the masses but even to recruit in its ranks leading figures from the militant sections of the Social Democratic Parties of Italy and Germany as also elsewhere. (Editor, Proletarian Era).

Road to fascism

"The day of reckoning arrived for the Germans", Writes Shirer, "In the late spring of 1919. The terms of the Versailles Treaty laid down by the Allies without negotiation with Germany, were published in Berlin on May 7. They came as a staggering blow to the people.... Angry mass meetings were organised throughout the country to protest against the treaty and to demand that Germany refuse to sign it....."

Apart from restoring the lost territories to France, Poland, Belgium of which the most important was Alsace-Lorraine, the treaty demanded heavy reparations, the first instalment of which was five billion dollars in gold mark and to be paid between 1919 and '21 and certain deliveries in kind—coal, ships, lumber, cattle etc. turnover of Kaiser Wilhelm II and some eight hundred 'war criminals' disbanding the Army only allowing 100,000 long-term volunteers without planes and tanks. In 1921 April, the full amount for reparation demanded of Germany was announced to be 132 billion gold marks—33 billion dollars. A crash on the currency followed. The mark normally valued at four to a dollar climbed down to a fantastic low, four hundred to a dollar. The mass fury was against the Social Democrats who proclaimed the Republic. Two Social Democrat ministers were murdered, Scheidemann escaped narrowly.

In 1932, the German Government asked for moratorium and the French Government answered it by sending troops to occupy Ruhr. "The industrial heart of Germany which after the loss of upper Silesia to Poland, furnished the Reich with four-fifths of its coal and steel production, was cut off from the rest of the country.

"And was not the democratic Republic which had surrendered to the enemy and accepted the burden of reparations, to blame for disasters ?

"The inflation could have been halted by merely balancing the budget.....a difficult but not impossible feat. Adequate taxation might have achieved this, but the new government did not dare to tax adequately. Instead of drastically raising taxes on those who could pay, the republican government actually reduced them in 1921.

"From then on, goaded by the big industrialists and landlords who stood

to gain, though the masses of the people were financially ruined, the government deliberately let the mark tumble in order to free the State of its public debts, to escape from paying reparations and to sabotage to the French in the Ruhr. Moreover the destruction of the currency enabled German heavy industry to wipe out its indebtedness by refunding its obligations in worthless marks. The general staff disguised as 'Truppenamt' (office of troops) to evade the peace treaty which supposedly had outlawed it, took notice that the fall of the mark wiped out the war debts and thus left Germany financially unencumbered for a new war."

.....(Shirer).

"The masses were again in ferment in 1923. A wave of strikes commenced in the industrial areas and the influence of the communist party grew tremendously. It needed only a resolute call for revolt of the workers and bring the already tottering capitalist system to the ground. And once again, decisive revolutionary leadership was lacking..... Although the Communist International considered that the German Workers had a favourable opportunity obtaining power, and instructions had been sent by the Central Committee of the German Communist Party to the most important centres of Germany to urge the communists there to prepare, the weak leadership sent couriers to cancel these instructions almost on the eve of the revolution. In Hamburg, the German Communists gallantly played their part, ignorant that the rest of the country was not rising. They boldly occupied the central points of the town, in correct revolutionary fashion. But they were defeated, their efforts rendered abortive because a cowardly leadership had shrunk back dismayed at the moment when action was imperative".

.....(Osborn—p.49).

Hitler made at the same time an attempt to seize power just in the

fashion of Mussolini. Hitler thought that he might unite all the anti-republican, national forces in Bavaria. Then with the support of the Bavarian Government, the armed leagues and the Reichswehr (the disguised army under charge of Seeckt) stationed in Bavaria, he might had a march on Berlin as Mussolini had marched on Rome the year before, and bring the Weimer Republic down. And indeed he staged a march with Ludendorff, the legendary Army general but Seeckt now in charge of disguised 'army' stood in the way.

Seeckt stood for the Republic not out of love for it but to stem the tide of separatist movement in Bavaria and more particularly to crush the communist uprisings in Saxony, Thuringa, Hamburg and the Ruhr.(Shirer)

But from the show of trial, Hitler emerged as a national figure and in the eyes of many, a patriot and a hero. He now pushed forward to build his party on a mass basis. By May, 1924, the National Socialist vote challenged the six millions of the Social Democrats and the three and a half million of the communist with a figure just under two millions. Hitler directed the propaganda of his party "No—not down with France but down with the traitors of the Fatherland, down with the November criminals" even during his abortive attempt. It was clearly against the Social Democrats and the Communists for restoration of the glory of Imperial Germany.

In the brief period after 1924, with foreign loans pouring in Germany, social-democracy got a good time in industrial revival. But the onset of the great depression in 1929 again saw the social democrats at its worst. Fascists were gaining ground tremendously. In the elections of September 1930, they scored over six million votes.

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HELSINKI FINAL ACT

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ment in colonies and semi-colonies and socialist revolutions in metropolitan countries, along with the development of peace movement in its proper perspective. This does not mean that serious consideration should not be given to the proposals of disarmament. But any proposal on disarmament is then and then only acceptable when it is for complete but not for partial disarmament. Because so long complete disarmament is not accepted and implemented in practice, the moment the imperialists attain a superior military might to the socialist forces, the impending danger of global war appears in the form of a real threat.

From the foregoing discussion, none should, however, conclude that the socialist states should never enter into any kind of treaty, nor develop co-operation in any field with the capitalists. The policy of peaceful co-existence does never prohibit that. But whenever any socialist state will enter into any such treaty, or understanding or pact with a capitalist-imperialist state, it should be solely guided by the objective of dominating over the capitalist-imperialists with a view to arresting their bid to increase their sphere of hegemony and to interfere into the internal affairs of others for perpetuating their nefarious game of organising the reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces in different countries. But nowadays, what the world people are experiencing in reality is something fundamentally different. While, on the one hand the socialist states and the capitalist-imperialist states are jointly advocating the policy of peaceful co-existence and non-interferences as they have done in Helsinki, the heinous conspiracy against the people in different countries to incite counter-revolutions wherever possible and the attempts

to increase the respective spheres of influence by different power blocs etc. etc.—all these are being continued with increasing intensity, on the other. It is for this reason that the world people look over such types of treaties, pacts and conferences with a critical eye of suspicion and apprehend these to be attempts of the power blocs to renew their understanding for increasing their respective spheres of influence.

In the summit it was further decided that all nations present at the summit would meet again in two years time in 1977 at Belgrade to assess how far the Helsinki declaration have been implemented. But how far it would be wise to keep alive one's high hope and expectation in regard to its fulfilment is doubtful. For, whoever, and for what underlying reasons may, through signing a joint declaration try to convince that along with them the capitalist-imperialists too, sincerely pledged to uphold the policy of peaceful co-existence, none will take it ever for granted that the basic character of the imperialists can change even to the least possible degree.

At present, the capitalist-imperialist world is passing through the third phase of its general economic crisis, when the crisis of their economy has become an everyday phenomenon.

It is a general practice that to artificially stimulate their crisis-ridden economy facing growing depression, they along with other artificial stimulants take recourse to constant militarisation of their economy. And along with other basic factors this stimulating action is also to a large extent responsible for giving birth to the war manoeuvring policy of the imperialists who then with a view to releasing the huge stock-piles always actively indulge in localised wars between different nations at different parts of the

world. But this cannot continue for ever. Because after some time this obviously creates strong world reaction against the imperialists both inside their countries and outside. This, coupled with more and more victories of the working people in different countries against the imperialists causes serious set back and temporary defeat to the war manoeuvring tactics of the imperialists. Moreover, the ever increasing military budget and more and more increased outlay of capital in war economy creates far more serious crisis in their already crisis-ridden economy of productive production. At such a stage, to gain a temporary respite from the adverse effects of war and war-economy they try to switch over, though as a temporary phase from war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre. Therefore, the imperialist policy of constant interference and aggression is sometimes expressed in the form of war manoeuvres and at other times in the form of peace manoeuvres. The phase of war manoeuvres is marked by continuous indulgence in localised wars while the phase of peace manoeuvre is marked by attempts to come out of war impasse and gain a temporary respite from adverse effects of war. So the present Helsinki declaration, where the capitalist-imperialists spoke in favour of "military detente", "reduction of armed forces", and pledged to stand by the policy of peaceful co-existence—all are nothing but self-exposures to their peace manoeuvring tactics.

It is a fact that the capitalist-imperialists will always try to deceive the people; let them try it. It is nothing new. It will not create very much problem if the fighting working people all over the world are really conscious of their real attitude, character and motive. But what about those people who after raising slogan jointly with the capitalist-imperialists in favour of peaceful co-existence and expressing

"TWO UTOPIAS"

LENIN ON LAND PROBLEMS

"The liberal utopia alleges that one could bring about appreciable improvements in Russia, in her political liberty, and in the condition of the mass of her working people peacefully and harmoniously without hurting anyone's feeling, without removing the Purishkeviches, without a ruthless class struggle fought to a finish. It is the utopia of peace between a free Russia and the Purishkeviches.

"The Narodnik utopia is a dream of the Narodnik intellectuals and Trudovik peasants who imagine that a new and just division of the land could abolish the power and rule of capital and do away with wage slavery or that a 'just', 'equalised' division of the land could be maintained under the domination of capital, under the rule of money, under commodity production.

"The dialectics of history is such that the Narodniks and the Trudoviks propose and promote, as an anti-capitalist remedy, a highly consistent and thorough-going capitalist measure with regard to the agrarian question in Russia.

"An 'equalised' new division of the land is utopian, yet a most complete rupture—a rupture indispensable for a new division—with the whole of the old land ownership. Whether landlord allotment or 'crown' is the most necessary, economically progressive and for a state like Russia most urgent measure towards bourgeois democracy.

"The liberal utopia is a veil for the self-seeking desire of the new exploiters to share in the privileges of the old exploiters. The Narodnik utopia is an expression of the aspiration of the toiling millions of the petty bourgeoisie to put an end altogether to the old, feudal exploiters but it also expresses the false hope that the new capitalist exploiters can be abolished along with them."

their deep satisfaction that the capitalist-imperialists too, have pledged to sincerely uphold the policy of peaceful co-existence are trying to make the people believe that the imperialists have fundamentally changed and that they sincerely desire peace! These people will cause for more serious harm to the people by creating confusion about the imperialists among the people and thereby unarm them in their struggle against the imperialists. This, they are doing for either of the following reasons. Either being victims of the nu-

clear blackmailing and thereby suffering from the fear-complex of global and nuclear war, they have been unconsciously befooled by the peace manoeuvring tactics of the imperialists or they are hand-in-glove with the imperialists to increase their respective spheres of influence. But, for whatever reason they may do it that does not matter; because whatever may be the reason behind it, this always tantamounts to a worst type of conspiracy designed against the working people all over the world.

Rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany

(Contd. from Page 6)

Meanwhile, the policy of concessions, which had ensured the influence of the Social Democrats, had to be replaced by a policy of drastic measures. "A Government form was required which permitted these attacks to be carried out without obstruction from Parliament or democratic institutions. The first attempts took the form of the Bruning Government. Although parliament was formally still in existence, the Bruning government ruled by decrees, only calling parliament together to ratify its decisions. During its life-time of eighteen months, the average wage of the German worker was reduced from 42s 2d to 22s 6d, unemployment benefit also fell to an average of 9.3s a week. The figure of unemployment soared to the colossal heights of five million registered unemployed. Even this Bruning government got the support of the Social Democrats who saw it as the "lesser evil". "To prevent the unemployed from being sacrificed by a Fascist regime in the steadily worsening crisis".

"This support of the Bruning Government by the Social Democrats was fatal. It prevented that unity with the revolutionary forces which alone would have enabled the workers to resist the terrific onslaughts of the capitalists. It resulted in a disorganisation of the workers' ranks, and permitted Fascism to capitalise much of the disillusionment which followed". (Osborn).

The Social Democrats were losing mass support as was revealed in the election results of 1932 but the Communist Party gained by the same proportion at least in votes.

"The unpopularity of the Bruning Government with its notorious "Hunger decrees" compelled President Hindenburg to dissolve it and appoint as

Chancellor, Von Papen. Automatically the Social Democrats who had supported the Bruning Government now transferred their support to Von Papen. In his turn Papen expelled the Social Democratic Government of Prussia which ruled two-thirds of Germany and controlled 67,000 armed forces.

The Communist Party made the second appeal for the united front on July 1932 to the Social Democratic Party and the General Trade Union Federation for a general strike against this dismissal. Before this, the first appeal for United front for joint action was in April 1932 against impending general wage offensive of the capitalists. Like the previous this time also they rejected it on the plea that this would be a provocation and pinning its hope in the ballot to oppose Fascism.

The November election to Reichstag showed the tremendous increase in the influence of the Communist Party which rose to six millions while the Nazi Party and the Social Democratic Party lost votes by 2 millions and seven lakhs respectively.

"After the losses of the National Socialists in the Reichstag elections of November", comments an American writer, "German Big Business decided that the immediate danger was that the National Socialist Party might disintegrate too rapidly".....

(C.B. Hoover—"Germany enters the third Reich". p. 83)

Von Papen resigned on November, 18, 1932 and General Schleicher took his place for a brief period. Hitler was already negotiating with Hindenburg and to gain time Schleicher relaxed many of the decrees regarding press, trade union activities etc. He had prepared the ground and gave way to Hitler who was appointed Chancellor on 30th January 1933. When the Social Democratic Party

supported Hindenburg in the Presidential election as 'lesser evil' to Hitler, they hardly knew that they would have to reap their reward so soon.

The Communist Party which did not support Hindenburg and said that every vote for Hindenburg was a vote for Hitler, now appealed for the third time, for united front to the Social Democrats but this appeal was also rejected on the plea that Hitler had been appointed 'Constitutionally'. The Social Democratic Party thought it advisable on their part, to wait for the March, '33 election. But what kind of election it was. The Social Democratic and Communist press were suppressed, leading Socialists and Communists were beaten up, murdered and imprisoned; workers' demonstrations were banned, and the approach to the March elections took place in conditions of indescribable terror. Goering issued a manifesto to the Prussian police instructing them to protect all national organisations but to use the strongest measures against oppositional organisations. The manifesto reads as follows:

"I do not think it necessary to point out that police must, in all circumstances, avoid even the appearance of a hostile attitude towards.....the national associations and parties...Moreover, every kind of activity for national purposes and national propaganda is to be thoroughly supported. On the other hand, the activities of organisations hostile to the State are to be checked by the strongest measures, with the Communist terrorism and raids there must be no triflings and when necessary, revolvers must be used without regard to consequences. Police officers who fire their revolvers in the execution of their duty will be protected by me without regard to the consequences of using their weapons. But officers who fail out of

mistaken regard for consequences must expect disciplinary action to be taken against them...."Shoot and kill were the instructions or take the consequences in dismissal. Hitler, together with the other Nationalist Party,..... received the majority.

...And yet this terror elections, based upon the suppression of the workers press, the intimidation of the electorate by the Social Democratic or Socialists and Communists were greeted by the Social Democratic leaders as a democratic mandate for Hitler. Writing in their Party bulletin issued immediately after the elections, Vorwärts declared:

"The victory of the government parties makes it possible to govern strictly in accordance with the constitution. They have only to act as a legal government and it will follow naturally that we shall be in a legal opposition..."(RPD's book)

By such means the Social Democratic Party was indicating its willingness to co-operate with the Fascists and in fact they voted for the Nazi Government in the Reichstag but the prophetic warning of Lenin was now coming true. As far back as in May, 1920, Lenin in his book "Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder", wrote about this Social Democracy: "Let the rascals like the Scheidemanns and Philistines like the Kautskys and Crispian reveal by their deeds how they have fooled themselves and how they are fooling the workers, their 'clean' government will itself do the 'cleanest' job of all in 'cleaning' the Augean stables of Socialism. Social Democracy and other forms of social treachery....." (Lenin—Selected Works, Vol.3).

They did not escape.... Their property was declared illegal. Some of them were admitted to the ranks of the Nazi. "The Leiparts and the Grosmans may profess their devotion to Hitler, but they are better in prison," said Dr. Ley, leader of the Nazi Labour Front.

R.P Dutt comments on this sad event in history, thus:

"The experience of Germany from 1918 to 1933 is the classic demonstrations before the international working class of how a working class revolution can be destroyed and squandered and brought to the abyss of working class subjection" (ibid).

But the question, the all important question is why this could happen? The International Communist leadership could not provide an effective answer neither in its assessment and reading about Fascism nor in its guide to fight it effectively. The latest document, Dimitrov thesis, as we shall see later, fails to meet the menace of Fascism adequately.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our revered leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era has taken note of this inadequacy in understanding about Fascism and has given his most valuable contribution and guide to understanding of Fascism, scientifically. We quote a portion of Comrade Ghosh's teachings:

"When the Nazis led by Hitler captured state power in Germany in the absence of any substantial exposure of the real face of fascism, the anti-fascist people took a mistaken view of it. Hitler exploited this weakness of the anti-fascist movement too efficiently. The fascists are barbarous, their profession it is only to bait the people—such partial, over simplified and imperfect notions created among the masses served only to help Hitler in manoeuvring even the anti-fascist forces of the country to his class interest.

On the one hand, the fascist preached National Socialism displayed a social Democratic attitude towards the people and adopted the fascist planning of partial state capitalism to cope with the inherent anarchy in the production system of the bourgeois society, and thereby, hoaxed the people; and on the other availing themselves of opportunity thus created, they let loose an orgy of violence and terror on the Communist Party and its allied revolutionary movements. The exploited masses of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia did not rise against the fascists to save their leader—the Communist Party.

Even this tragedy of the German C.P. could not open the eyes of the Communist Parties of other countries to the necessity of fighting the philosophy of fascism and exposing the real character of fascist culture".

(Socialist Unity—ibid).

(To be Concluded)